

## Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO

S E C R E T STATE 216173

LIMDIS NOFORN

FOLLOWING REPEAT BONN 15751 SENT ACTION SECSTATE

INFO SECDEF WASHDC LONDON PARIS ROME MOSCOW VIENNA GENEVA NATO

EC BRUSSELS SALT TWO OCT 31:

QUOTE

S E C R E T BONN 15751

LIMDIS/NOFORN

VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL: GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, US, NATO, EEC

SUBJECT: U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS: OBSERVATIONS OF

FONOFF POLICY PLANNING STAFF CHIEF

REF: BONN 15651 AND BONN A-660

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING OCT 29 CONVERSATION WITH EMBOFF

ON CSCE ISSUES (BONN 15712) FONOFF POLICY PLANNING

STAFF CHIEF GUIDO BRUNNER OFFERED COMMENTS ON U.S./

EUROPEAN RELATIONS. BRUNNER'S OBSERVATIONS TOUCHED

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ON U.S./SOVIET BILATERALISM, EMERGING DOMESTIC

CONSIDERATIONS IN WESTERN COUNTRIES AND CHANGING  
FRENCH POLICY TOWARD NATO AND EUROPEAN UNIFICATION.  
END SUMMARY

1. COMMENTING ON FONOFF POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL'S RECENT ARTICLE ON EUROPEAN POLITICAL COOPERATION AND U.S.-SOVIET BILATERALISM (REFS), AMBASSADOR BRUNNER ACKNOWLEDGED THAT LONG DEBATES HAD TAKEN PLACE WITHIN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, SINCE DR. KISSINGER'S APRIL 23 "YEAR OF EUROPE" SPEECH, CONCERNING LONG-RANGE GOALS OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. IN PARTICULAR, GERMAN OFFICIALS WERE CONSIDERING WHETHER THE AMERICAN EFFORT TO PROMOTE GLOBAL STABILITY VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PREMISED AND BASED ON COMMON ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS WITH WESTERN INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES. AS VAN WELL'S ARTICLE IMPLIED, SOME GERMAN OFFICIALS SHARE THE CONCERN OF FRENCH PRESIDENT POMPIDOU, REPORTEDLY VOICED TO JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER TANAKA DURING THE LATTER'S RECENT VISIT TO PARIS, THAT THE MAIN LINE OF EMERGING U.S. FOREIGN POLICY COULD BE A WORLDWIDE BALANCE OF POWER WITH THE SOVIET UNION THAT COULD TEND TO SUBORDINATE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES AND JAPAN AS JUNIOR PARTNERS OF WASHINGTON. BRUNNER SAID THE LATTER ANALYSIS IS NOT RPT NOT THE PREVAILING VIEW WITHIN THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT, BUT SOME IMPORTANT GERMAN OFFICIALS ARE INCLINED TO TAKE POSITION SERIOUSLY. THE MAJORITY VIEW WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT, ACCORDING TO BRUNNER AND ANOTHER RELIABLE FONOFF SOURCE, IS THAT THE HIGHLY DIVERGENT HISTORIES AND VALUES GOVERNING RUSSIAN AND AMERICAN SOCIETIES IMPOSE RATHER STRICT LIMITATIONS ON THE DEGREE OF FEASIBLE RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN THE TWO SUPERPOWERS. IN SHORT, THERE IS A TENDENCY TO PERCEIVE A KIND OF "LIMITED U.S./SOVIET PARTNERSHIP" TO AVOID THE DANGERS OF WAR--PARTICULARLY NUCLEAR WAR.

2. WHAT IS IMPORTANT, IN THE GERMAN VIEW, SAID BRUNNER, IS THAT THE WEST NOW ADDRESS ITSELF SERIOUSLY AND PROMPTLY TO "ORGANIZING THE RULES OF THE GAME" REGARDING WESTERN ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND  
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SECURITY POLICIES. BRUNNER SHARES VAN WELL'S VIEW THAT THE WEST EUROPEANS WILL HAVE TO CONSULT MORE CLOSELY AS A COMMUNITY ON MILITARY AND SECURITY QUESTIONS AS WELL--BUT WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF NATO. HE THOUGHT THE U.S./EUROPEAN EXERCISE FOR E AND NATDECLARATIONS S FAR HAD PROVIDED A USEFUL MIND CLEARING PROCESS. BRUNNER PARTICULARLY EMPHASIZED THAT A REVITALIZATION OF U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS MUST TAKE FULLY INTO ACCOUNT

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY CONSIDERATIONS IN THE WESTERN COUNTRIES. AS A PLANNER, BRUNNER VOICED THE CONCERN THAT SOCIAL FORCES IN WESTERN COUNTRIES MIGHT RENDER IT VERY DIFFICULT AT A FUTURE POINT TO CARRY OUT SUCH A REVITALIZATION SHOULD THE CURRENT EXERCISE PROVE TO BE UNSUCCESSFUL. IN PARTICULAR, BRUNNER REFERRED TO MULTI-NATIONAL ENTERPRISES AND OTHER INCIPIENT "PROTO-CORPORATE FORCES" IN WESTERN WORLD THAT MIGHT WEAKEN THE ABILITY OF GOVERNMENTS IN THE FUTURE TO DEAL WITH SUCH PROBLEMS.

3. AS TO FRANCE, BRUNNER SAID HE ATTRIBUTED THE RECENT EVOLUTION IN FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY TO AN INCREASING RECOGNITION IN PARIS THAT "GAULLIST FOREIGN POLICY" WAS NO LONGER PAYING OFF DOMESTICALLY OR IN TERMS OF CONCRETE GAINS FOR FRENCH SECURITY. HE PERCEIVED SOME INCREASING ILL FEELINGS TOWARD THE U.S. IN THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT DUE TO A FEELING THAT PARIS "WAS BEING MANIPULATED." BUT THE BASIC FACTOR, IN BRUNNER'S VIEW, IS AN INCREASING CONCERN THAT FRANCE COULD NO LONGER TAKE FOR GRANTED THE CONTINUED SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN MILITARY PRESENCE IN WESTERN EUROPE. AS LONG AS THE FRENCH FELT THIS "AMERICAN CONTINUITY" WAS A RELATIVELY ASSURED COMMODITY, THE FRENCH COULD FLAIL AWAY "AT THE AMERICAN CHALLENGE" AND "CONTINUE TO ENJOY A FREE RIDE" BEHIND THE AMERICAN SECURITY SHIELD. NOW THAT THAT CONTINUED AMERICAN PRESENCE IS IN DOUBT, BRUNNER BELIEVES THE FRENCH PURPOSE IS TO DELAY THE DAY OF SUBSTANTIAL AMERICAN TROOP REDUCTIONS; IN HIS VIEW, THE FRENCH SEE NO POSSIBILITY OF PREVENTING SUCH WITHDRAWALS AND SEE MBFR AS A FIG LEAF IN THIS CONNECTION. BRUNNER BELIEVES IT  
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IS THESE CONSIDERATIONS WHICH ARE PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FRENCH SHIFT TOWARD A SOMEWHAT MORE FORTH-COMING ATTITUDE TOWARD EUROPEAN INTEGRATION, NATO, AND MORE HARMONIOUS U.S./EUROPEAN RELATIONS. BUT IN HIS VIEW, THESE POSITIVE FORCES STAND IN A KIND OF CONSTANT COUNTER POINT WITH THE CONTINUED PRESSURES FROM THE LEFT AND GAULLIST RIGHT OF THE FRENCH POLITICAL SPECTRUM, THEREBY ACCOUNTING FOR THE SOMEWHAT UNEVEN FOREIGN POLICY STATEMENT EMANATING FROM PARIS IN THE RECENT MONTHS.  
HILLENBRAND

UNQUOTE. KISSINGER

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